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APPEAL FOR HELP!

Communists exiled to Siberia! Communists starving on fifteen dollars a month! Communists freezing for want of clothing and shoes! Veterans of the October Revolution condemned to die the long Siberian Death!

No. The Roylists have not returned to power. No Czar sits on his murderous throne. Then what has happened?

These men have opposed dictatorship without previous party discussion. They could not be out-argued, so they had to be framed up and deported.

Whether you agree with them or not — would you treat them thus? If you feel that it is not yet time for these men to die, it is your duty to keep them alive.

Comrade Yoffe killed himself because he felt helpless to keep up the fight against the rule of Stalin. We must rush to the support of our persecuted comrades to save them from such a fate. Already throuth the

world the opposition is growing. These brave Russian Comrades, who would rather die than submit to factional terrorism, must be kept alive!

Send contributions to Dr. A. F. Konikow, 857 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Secretary, Dr. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

Organizer, L. SCHLOSBERG

Treasurer, EVA WEINER

Fin. Sec'y, CELIA COPPERSTEIN

P. S. Contributions are also needed to help our organization to keep you posted on news concerning the opposition in Soviet Russia and in our country.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Certainly the principles of the Communist Party are not wrong. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as a transition to Communism, the effective work against capitalism and its conscious and unconscious supporters, the expose of the Socialist Party — these are the strength and glory of the Communist movement.

Then what is wrong? So deeply wrong that it is bound to become dangerous to the movement. What is the reason that so many communists find it impossible to work for communism within the party. The great sore growing larger and deeper in the communist movement is its form of organization carried over from the time of the Russian revolution; namely, the centralized democracy NOW without democracy, the strict discipline NOW without previous discussion, the power acquired by a faction of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia to demand obedience not only in Soviet Russia, but all over the world.

HOW DID THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE R. C. P. ATTAIN SUCH POWER?

First, because the Workers of the World look upon them as the direct followers of Lenin, because upon their heads rests yet the halo of the October revolution. All achievements of Soviet Russia for the last ten years are considered to be their work. In fact, the workers identified them, just as they do themselves, with the Russian revolution and with Soviet Russia. Whoever is against that faction is accused of being against the October revolution and against Soviet Russia. History made the Russian Communist Party, in the eyes of the workers of the world, the representatives of Soviet Russia, but in reality they represent only a faction in the R. C. P., which knows how to control its own Party and the Comintern. In the first year of the Soviet government all comrades of the executive committee had their say however

deeply they differed. There were no bosses at that time and Lenin attained his influence only through the strength of his arguments and his deep knowledge, certainly not by mechanical control. This has changed since Zinovieff became secretary of the Comintern.

HOW IS THE R. C. P. AND ALL OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES CONTROLLED BY ONE FACTION?

He, Zinovieff, was the first to establish boss rule. When he was removed the comrades all over the world gave a sigh of relief, finding out soon that there was only a change of power, Stalin having taken his place. The Russian Communist Party is ruled now by the Stalin-Bucharin faction through the application of the so-called centralized democracy, or rather "simplified democracy", as a Russian comrade satirically characterized it. He says the general secretary of the party appoints the secretary of the state organization and so downward till the nucleus is reached. Then starts the movement in the opposite direction.

The secretaries of the nuclei "elect" the secretaries of the higher units who have appointed them; these "elect" the secretaries of the next higher unit, (naturally those who have appointed them) and so it goes on till the secretaries of the districts or Gubernias are reached. They form the party conference, who certainly "elected" Stalin as the secretary of the party. The same "simplified democracy" holds good for the organizations of the Comintern and the organizations of all other Communist parties. The ruling factions can perpetuate themselves through perfect control of the party press and all avenues of information. If the majority of any Communist party proves unsuitable to the Comintern, "simplified democracy" at once begins to work. In other words, the Comintern appoints the comrades satisfactory to themselves.

The Fosterites once had a majority in our party and were simply pushed aside getting the orders practically to give the power over to the minority. The same happened just now in Germany, where the Comintern ordered that Comrade Thalman, who was removed by the majority of the C. E. C., should be reinstalled. Thus the Communist parties of the world are always under the full control of the Comintern. There are plenty of factions in different Communist parties bitterly fighting one against the other, but not one of them, however, dares to lift its voice against the Comintern. The Comintern is the infallible judge. To whomsoever it gives its approval, it gives at the same time power to be the leader of the particular party, and its representative in the conference of the International. No opposition against the Comintern has ever a chance to grow within any party, still less to send any delegates to the Comintern.

What supreme mockery was it for the "Bolshevik" (monthly magazine of the R. C. P.) to glory in the fact, in its August editorial, that the Trotsky opposition did not even have one delegate at the last Congress of the International. The "Pravda" (daily Communist paper) also points proudly to the fact that all resolutions of the Congress here passed unanimously. The Communist party in Soviet Russia and all over the world is always "unanimous", because no one dares to have a different opinion.

HOW IS THIS UNANIMITY IN ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES BROUGHT ABOUT ?

How is this unanimity brought about? Comrades who dare to differ lose standing and can retain important positions only if they repent and submit. Foster's short stunt of independence (refusing during Zinovieff's dictatorship to vote against Trotsky; and fighting against Pepper) was duly punished; from being the leader of the majority he was forced to become a minority leader. He is tolerated now only under conditions of utter self-effacement. From the other side, a man like Lovestone, whose political trickery and crookedness is admitted by his own supporters, easily keeps his leadership. If he is occasionally caught in trickery or lies, it does not count, for lately maneuvering against comrades of the party is considered quite fashionable.

LOVESTONE AND LOSOFSKY.

The latest expose of Lovestone seems to have added to his laurels, I mean the Losofsky statement on the "American Mix-up" (Pravda, No. 176, July 31). Lovestone and his crowd voted against the decision of the Profintern on the change of the Trade-Union policy from "boring from within" to "dual unionism". Imagine his embarrassment when he comes to Moscow and finds that the new policy is supported by Stalin; he realizes that he has not recognized the voice of his master. With his usual impudence he simply denies the fact of his voting against this policy. He was confronted with the minutes of the meeting and witnesses — members of the C. E. C., but that did not mean much, Lovestone should worry. He is strong in the saddle, for he always supports the Comintern and gets the support of the members here because of his standing with the Comintern.

FACTIONS IN UNITED STATES.

Lovestone's faction is again recognized and supported by the Comintern and it will be so for years. The Fosterites cannot equal his tricks, and in the

struggle for supremacy between factions, trickery and submission to the Comintern are the only things that count. The orders from the Comintern are to give up factions. It is a standing order for many years. Lovestone swears solemnly that he is through with factions and begs the opposition to stop their disturbance of the party with their faction work. Meanwhile he is secretly making all arrangements for the usual faction meetings, and the Fosterites follow his example. Instead of acknowledging frankly the necessity of different opinions in the party and giving all a chance of free criticism and exchange of opinions, which would really do away with factions, the party insists officially that no factionalism exists, but secretly keeps up the struggle of factions just as before.

THE CONTROL OF PARTY MEMBERS IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Comintern and the R. C. P. are becoming much imbued with maneuvering and diplomacy that they slowly adopt all cheap capitalist political trickery and apply them with vengeance to their own members. In Soviet Russia they decided to kill the Trotsky opposition and acted about it just as the old Czar used to do with revolutionists. Instead of realizing that an opposition of thousands of members is not a matter of chance, but based on some real foundations, they tried to explain it by mere treachery or personalities, and wanted to annihilate it by persecution and exile. We have heard lately again and again that the Trotsky opposition in Russia is dead and buried. A few months passed and again articles appear in the "Pravda" that the Trotsky opposition had raised its head and must be killed once again. The most damnable situation is the fact that the same methods are used in Russia, where the building up of Socialism demands the full co-operation of the rank and file and the whole working class. But what has been done? The psychology of submission, called discipline, has been applied so persistently that workers are afraid to express their opinion and are getting used to look with indifference upon acts of mismanagement, corruption and even plain treason. They have learned by bitter experience that it is dangerous to criticize and expose the grafters and corruptionists who are so near to the leading elements of the party that they get the support of the party officials.

"Don't talk too much, you may lose your job," is a well-known saying in Soviet Russia. Under communist rule the party members are afraid to express their opinion, because they may lose their bread. The fact that such conditions exist had been proved by statements in the "Pravda", by the statements of Trotsky in his program, by many comrades visiting Soviet Russia to return broken-hearted and pessimistic. Stalin, in his speech on the Donetz affair, has acknowledged that for six years workers knew about the counter-revolutionists' work going on and kept quiet, because they knew that the result would only be the loss of a job. Does Communism necessarily lead to such slavery? Our enemies claim so. But we know that such conditions are merely the result of wrong application of the Proletarian Dictatorship and that Communist leaders responsible for the situation are bound to fail, because real Communism cannot be built upon slavery, servility, lies and corruption. The centralization of power within the party and absolute discipline are a primary necessity in the period of actual revolution. In the time of constructive work in Soviet Russia, in the time of building up Socialism, this form of organization becomes a menace instead of a help. To keep the member of

the party in abject submission to the lower officials, who are usually cheap politicians, will take away all honest interest so absolutely needed for the building up of Russia.

REVOLUTIONARY METHODS MUST ADAPT THEMSELVES TO DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE WORK.

The Russian Revolution is the first practical application of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Naturally it was a hard and difficult task and frictions could not have been avoided. Military communism or war communism, introduced right after the October revolution, was a powerful help at first, but had to be given up to save Soviet Russia. The new program of the Comintern states that military communism following a revolution is not an essential characteristic of revolution, that in some cases it can be avoided. No doubt it had been overdone in Soviet Russia. The requisition of Corn policy, applied towards the Russian peasant, was also a necessary step during the revolution and had to be given up to prevent serious consequences later on. The strict centralization form of party organization is another sequel of the revolution and is kept up too long. The new conditions demand inner party democracy or the party will not be able to exist. Centralization and strict discipline are necessary in time of war and revolution, but if continued into the period of reconstruction are bound to lead to dissention and opposition.

THE TROTSKY OPPOSITION

The Russian Trotsky opposition is the first symptom of the great fallacy of a centralized government without democracy in time of rehabilitation. Lenin had been greatly worried over coming faction fights between Stalin and Trotsky before his death. He had warned comrades in his so-called "Testament" not against Trotsky, but against Stalin. In fact, he had begged the comrades to remove Stalin from the secretaryship of the party, because he feared Stalin would abuse his power. Lenin's "Testament" was never given to the members of the party. His prediction unfortunately only too soon became a reality. For two years all Communist newspapers and magazines were filled with poisonous and misleading statements against Trotsky. No wonder the average comrade became prejudiced against him. The supporters of Trotsky lost their jobs and positions and later were exiled and are now in a half starving condition. Many comrades were afraid to show their sympathy to Trotsky, many claimed to have changed their opinions and returned to the party, for it needs a strong spirit to stand the persecution in Soviet Russia and there are so many excuses to overcome the scruples of weaklings or traitors. It is always easier to remain with those in power than be with the persecuted minority. Some comrades tell me that no punishment could be severe enough for Trotsky as long as he was a menace to the party. The question is "was he a menace?"

IS TROTSKY A MENACE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

In reality he pointed out all dangers which threatened Soviet Russia. Had the party accepted his advice Soviet Russia would be stronger and happier today. He pointed out the growing power of the "Kulak", which would make corn collection in Soviet Russia difficult. He was laughed at. But last spring

Soviet Russia to its great consternation found out that it was almost impossible to collect the necessary corn. The "Kulaks" were everywhere ahead of the government. It was a great surprise, as the "Pravda" stated in one of its editorials. In fact, the "Pravda" naively confessed that the party had been too busy fighting Trotsky to find time to prepare for the disaster he predicted. Soviet Russia suffers from it yet, and still Trotsky is pointed out as an enemy of Soviet Russia. More surprises were coming. Not to Trotsky. He again was in the right path. He warned the government against the increasing power of Bureaucrats and the suppression of the rank and file. He pointed out the possibilities of graft and counter-revolution. He had not reached his exile in Turkestan when Soviet Russia had its new surprise — the "Donetz" affair, a disclosure of corruption and graft and counter-revolution of a most shocking nature. The most horrible fact was that the workers and comrades knew about it for years but could not do anything under the regime of bureaucracy and corruption. The inner situation of Soviet Russia was not the only surprise to the leaders of Soviet Russia and the Comintern. The situation in China also ended in a surprise. Trotsky had warned the comrades against working with the Chinese Bourgeoisie, had demanded many months before the final disaster the withdrawal of the Communists from the Kuomintang and the formation of Soviets. As usual he was laughed at and his advice was followed only too late. The leaders of the R. C. P. are very busy keeping the Communist Party of the world straight and fighting left and right deviations. The real dangers they usually notice only when they get a good blow on the head. But as they themselves report all these blows to the members they naturally are always right and the membership of all Communist Parties continue their worship of those in power. If by some chance Trotsky could get the power in his hands tomorrow the membership would turn to him and support him, for the rank and file has now been educated to a most shameful tradition of following the leader whether right or wrong.

STALIN SAYS: "COMMUNISTS ARE TOO INDEPENDENT TO BE CONTROLLED BY MOSCOW."

The party which glories in being always unanimous, which permits no opposition, is bound to go wrong. Centralization without democracy and discipline without previous discussion can prevail for a while in a proletarian state, but it rests on dangerous premises. First, the majority of the membership does not know the real situation and is kept in ignorance. Second, many members are dissatisfied and disgusted, but fear the loss of position and turn to hypocrisy to stay within the party. Third, crooks support these leaders, because they give them power and economic advantages leading to corruption. What is left for the comrades who see the danger of this factional leadership? Keep up the lie with them, howl with the wolves to strengthen them while thousands are disheartened and thousands are exiled and starved? Comrade Stalin answered the question by American Trade-Union Delegates, whether it is true that Moscow controls the Communist Party in the United States, with this statement: "Communists are too independent to be controlled." Unfortunately he is wrong again. Only a few comrades seem to object to such control. We are among them. Being expelled from the Communist Party in the United States fortunately does not mean starvation or exile.

REGISTERED LETTER.

October 30th, 1928.

Antoinette F. Konikow,
857 Beacon Street,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Comrade:

I am instructed by Comrade Lovestone to inform you that you must appear before the Political Committee of the Party on Friday, November 2nd, at noon, to answer the charge of organizing Trotsky sentiment in the Party and carrying on propaganda for Trotskyism.

The meeting of the Political Committee will be held at 43 East 125th Street, New York.

Fraternally yours,

ALEX BAIL,
District Organizer, Dist. No. 1.

Comrade Lovestone,
National Secretary of the
Workers' Party.

Dear Comrade:

This sudden order to appear Friday noon in New York before the political committee is in line with your usual tricky policy. You know well that going to New York from Boston means quite an expense and that leaving my medical practice for several days involves a big financial loss. Why can't a local committee consider my case? Because they fear the indignation of the local comrades? Or you are not sure that the local committee would act against me with the desired decision? All you want is to be able to tell the rank and file you offered me a hearing and I refused to avail myself of the opportunity. According to the latest decision of the Comintern we should have full inner party democracy and inner party criticism. Why does this not apply to the Trotsky opposition? Because a few faked resolutions were forced through our party organization by misrepresentation and terrorism?

I did work for Trotsky's ideals and tried to arouse sentiment for the opposition in our party, and I consider I have the full right to do so according to our stand on inner party democracy. But it is useless to expect your committee to accept this viewpoint, for your leadership would not last long under rules of real democracy in our party. I consider that the party has taken an outrageously wrong stand on the Trotsky situation in Soviet Russia. A result of the servile submission to the Stalin faction.

It happens that I am one of these comrades of whom Comrade Stalin in his answer to the American Trade Union Committee said, "Real Communists cannot be controlled from Moscow." I am willing to submit to discipline if a proposition had been given free discussion where both sides were equally given a chance to express themselves. Otherwise, I consider it my right and duty to oppose such wrongly imposed discipline.

Your decision about me is already made up and my statement will never reach the comrades until I see to it myself. It is good that you have not the power to take away my livelihood. As to besmirching my name it is to be expected.

A comrade of thirty nine years services in the Socialist cause,

DR. A. F. KONIKOW

Comrade James Cannon, who did splendid work in the I.L.D., Comrades Max Schachtman and Martin Aborn have been expelled from the Party on the ground of opposing present Party policies; also because of their support of the Russian opposition.

A statement was issued by them on October 28, 1928, and sent out to selected comrades. Below you find extracts from their statement:

"Such methods, which substitute bureaucratic control for ideological and political leadership, have permeated our Party to an alarming degree, adversely affecting its policies, choking its inner life, weakening its influence, blocking its growth. These methods tend to transform the Party from a living body of revolutionaries into an institution which makes thought unlawful. When loyal Communists are expelled for their views, when inquiry and discussion on principle questions are prohibited, when the Party members fear to think, when they vote for decisions without in the least understanding them, the Party is in danger. That is the meaning of the atmosphere created in the unscrupulous and demagogic struggle against Trotsky and the Russian Opposition during the past five years. That is the real meaning of our expulsion for stating our views. The proletarian masses of the Party must awaken to this danger and take up the fight against it. They must break through the bureaucratic crust which has formed itself on top of the Party. They must demand full information on all sides of the question, so that they can decide for themselves intelligently and not merely from wrong and non-Leninist conceptions of formal discipline. To help bring about this awakening, we have addressed our statement of views to the Political Committee and now address it to the Party ranks."

"The necessity for a more relentless struggle against the Kulak and the Nepman—for an orientation exclusively upon the workers and hired hands, united with the village poor and lower peasantry and in alliance with the middle peasantry—preached by the Opposition, becomes clearer every day. The trend of events and the irresistible pressure of class forces is already driving a deep cleavage in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and is forcing the Stalin group to struggle against the right wing (Rykov, etc.) and other elements (Bucharin) vacillating between the two. The platform of the Russian Opposition, prepared for the Fifteenth Congress of the G.P.U., indicates the revolutionary policy for the present situation in Soviet Union. The prediction and warning contained in this platform against the inevitable growth and aggressiveness of a genuine right wing in the Party (Rykov, Tomsky, etc.), has been precisely confirmed in the intervening period, particularly in recent months. The activities of this right wing, which have already necessitated organizational measures in the Moscow and other organizations of the Party, is a proof of the awakening of the proletarian masses of the Party to this danger. The "left" course of the Stalin group in the direction of a struggle against the right dangers, for Party democracy and self-criticism, against bureaucrats, the Nepman and the Kulaka, can become a real left course only so long as it abandons zig-zag movements, adopts the whole platform of the Opposition, and reinstates the tested Bolshevik fighters, who have been expelled, to their rightful places in the Party."

"We demand the publication of all the documents of the Russian Opposition, without which the Party members do not and cannot know the essential issues of the struggle and cannot form intelligent opinions in regard to them. The discussion of these issues heretofore has been conducted in an atmosphere of prejudice, misrepresentation, terrorism, outlawing of all thought and inquiry, the substitution of official say-so for the study of documents and facts on disputed questions. All this has been part of a campaign of unparalleled slander against Trotsky who, after Lenin, was the outstanding leader of the Russian revolution and the Comintern, and was accompanied by the falsification of the history of the revolution itself."

Comrades should read Max Eastman's book, "The Real Situation in Russia", by Leon Trotsky.

The book consists of many authentic documents.

Each of these documents is a translation from copies given to Max Eastman by comrades of the Opposition. We have many well known comrades who can testify to the authenticity of every document.